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The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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HOW MAN AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE
STARTED

WHICH ROAD IS RIGHT?

STATES' EVIDENCE AGAINST
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE LAWS OF THE CAMPAIGN
STATES

HOW WOMEN VOTE ON BONDS
FOR SCHOOLS

WHY SUFFRAGE SENATORS USED
AN OLD TREATY

"SHAMING" THE "SAVAGES"—A
SCHEME THAT FAILED

THE COST OF DOUBLE SUFFRAGE

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HOW MAN AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE STARTED

By EDWARD EVERETT HALE

AS I understand the woman suffrage movement, it is an inheritance for which few persons care much now, from a movement set on foot about the end of the war by some of the Old Line Abolitionists. They were out of business with the success of the war. They were a sort of people who disliked to be in a majority and very conscientiously looked around for a cause sufficiently unpopular. They stumbled on woman's suffrage and took it up heartily and bravely.

They were persons who had brought up one poor foundling with perfect success, and they felt sure that the next which they found in the streets would do them equal credit.

Unfortunately for their success, they had no foundation to build upon. As abolitionists they had built upon the Rock of Ages.

It is an entire mistake to suppose that universal suffrage of men in America is based historically on the theory of equal rights. Far down in this century there was no universal suffrage in Massachusetts. When it came in, it came in simply as a matter of convenience.

The State did give the suffrage to every one who served her. This service, in the case of men, covers almost every one. If I am looking on at a fire, the proper officer may summon me to go into a burning attic, and I must obey him, though obedience cost me my life. If the town wants my work on the roads, I must give it. If the sheriff needs me to suppress a mob or to arrest a tramp, I must serve him. If the State or the Nation needs me to serve in the army or the navy, State or Nation can have me.

Now it proved inconvenient to the edge of absurdity to make out annually among men two lists of such people; one set called freemen, and another set who are merely residents. And the suffrage, hardly widened in fact, was in theory extended, so that in practice, four-fifths of the resident men, who have been naturalized, are registered as voters.

This is what is called universal suffrage among men.

Clearly enough it was absurd or at least petty, for nineteen men who had been out against Burgoyne to say to the twentieth who had gone with them, "We will direct the affairs of the town and you shall not, because you have not been placed upon the tax-roll."

The suffrage, therefore, gradually slid into what is called universal suffrage, which is not by any means universal among men.

I am now asked to confer the responsibility of suffrage upon women. This means, of course, that they are willing to obey fire wardens and sheriffs, and to serve in battle. They wish and are willing to serve on juries, and in short to accept all the responsibilities of public-spirited men. To which request I reply that I do not think they want to do these things, and second, that I do not think they would do them well.

(Signed) EDWARD E. HALE.

By MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

FIRST, let me give you one little bit of history with which most of you are entirely familiar. When the National Suffrage Association was a mere group of women with all the world against them before the war, they really could do very little except to whack away at the prejudices that existed.

* * * * *

When the war came it stopped everything very naturally and the women who had been leaders in the movement gave most of their attention to either the Sanitary Commission or, as you know, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton devoted their time entirely for a long period to getting up the petition to Mr. Lincoln to emancipate the slaves, and it was said that it was the thing that really gave Mr. Lincoln his mandate. [!]. [See page 15.]*

* * * * *

Now those people who had been abolitionists were all suffragists and they held great political influence at that time and never in our entire history was there so much real political prestige behind the woman suffrage movement as immediately after the war. That view was not backed by the general sentiment or the voice of the people, but it had the backing of the best there was in the political life of our nation. So it happened naturally that there should have been introduced an amendment to get the word "sex" put into that amendment. They wanted it put in when it went the rounds to enfranchise the negro.

* * * * *

Then there came the reaction which always has and always will follow a war. You can keep the stimulus of the people up for a little while after but not long. The whole civilization of a community slumps after a war and it took a generation before the people got back again to the same real, vigorous, hopeful interest in life that they had had before. In the meantime these abolitionists grew old. Those that were in Congress died or retired from Congress and men who didn't have the same interest in humanity appeared in their places there. Then they went on with the work for woman suffrage.

* * * * *

They attacked the territories and the entire west beyond the Missouri was then territories. I think California had been a State and that was all. And they attempted to get it into the constitutions when the territories became States and after Wyoming had given the women a vote they tried to get it into the legislatures.

* * * * *

Now it is a great pity that it was not pushed at that time and the only opposition was mere prejudice of the people. There was very little belief in the movement.

JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY—"ASK THE WOMEN"

THE woman suffrage issue should be settled on the basis of justice and democracy. It is unjust to ask the mother to do the man's work—especially as no suffragist has any plan for making woman's work more easy. It is undemocratic to enfranchise women without their consent. We demand that the doctrine of democracy be applied to votes-for-women *before* instead of *after* the adoption of woman suffrage.

This is the sane and sensible thing the suffragists wish to avoid.

They object to having "majority rule" this question.

In effect, they say: "You must have suffrage whether you like it or not. If you do not like it, do not vote."

It is just as if some party said: "You men must let our party run the country, no matter how the majority votes. Then, if you don't like the way we run it, you can go somewhere else."

Women want a chance to decide where they are going *before* they are on the suffrage way, just as men want to decide upon representatives *before* they take office.

Any other method of settling the franchise question is dictatorial, undemocratic and unjust. If a man cannot decide it for himself, on the evidence at hand, he can "Ask the Women!"

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

HAVE the suffragists advanced any new evidence in favor of votes-for-women? Let us consider the question fairly. What are their best present-day arguments? One of the latest, blazed across a page in a chain of yellow journals, advises suffragists to win the ballot by calling the antis savages! Another is that women have done no worse than the men. A third begs the question. It asks: "If woman suffrage is so bad, why isn't it repealed?" A fourth says that the "liquor interests" are responsible; a fifth that "spoilers and hypocrites" are the chief opponents of woman suffrage.

Throughout the entire array of alleged arguments, we find not one proof that women can do *anything* in politics better than they can without the vote. Instead of showing us a glorified Wyoming, shining as a star of the first magnitude among the States after forty-seven years of woman suffrage—the best the suffragists seem to do is to coin new names to call the antis! Instead of exhibiting Colorado, after twenty-four years of votes-for-women, as the model of "municipal housekeeping" and good government, they are busy trying to answer why that State is so far behind others where women do not vote. Instead of telling us of the wonderful things Idaho and Utah have done for women in twenty years of suffrage, they are very eagerly engaged in trying to prove that there are not so many Mormons in those States as generally believed!

The whole suffrage movement has become apologetic and accusatory.

In comparison with the eloquent pleas of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the modern exponents of the suffrage cause have adopted a political propaganda apparently founded on one policy: "Let us discredit our opponents."

This seems to be the only argument suffragists have left after nearly seventy years of agitation and nearly a half century of woman suffrage in practice in some of the States!

Could there be any better evidence that this experiment—which is not wanted by the majority of women and which is an expense of no benefit to women or the State—has no justification for its further adoption?

The suffragists have not shown women one thing they can do better with ballots. We have shown many they can do better without votes.

One great thing is to preserve woman's present place and power as a non-partisan, out of politics, able to do good no matter what party wins an election, and working for *unity* instead of *division* in public opinion. Another is to conserve woman's energy for concentration upon the work that the world most needs—the elevation of individual character.

WHICH ROAD IS RIGHT?

WOMAN suffrage, to all persons who think calmly, is simply a question of whether the ballot makes it easier or harder for woman to do her share of the world's work. We all, suffragists and anti-suffragists, want woman to do her best for herself, her sex and her State. We advocate the advancement of woman. It is purely a question of what road she shall take. Both sides see the forked roads. One is suffrage, the other anti-suffrage. To us, one is politics, the other progress for women. To the suffragists, one is politics, the other slavery for women. Who is right?

Are women the slaves of their sons? If so, why?

Does any other human being have the chance to mould another's character that is given to the mother? Common sense will answer "No."

Woman casts the character of our citizens. If she casts it well in childhood, it will come forth moulded into the form of noble men and women, honest, courteous and just. If she casts it badly she cannot remould or reform it after it is hardened by simply casting a vote against it. We cannot have better politics until we create better politicians.

Then why this cry of woman's uplifting the universe by wholesale through politics? If man's laws are a failure, so are the sons of women.

This is why we know the suffragists are mistaken, and that we are on the right road.

Suffrage is an attempt to substitute political machinery for personal motherhood. Asking a woman to go into politics to reform or out-vote the citizens whose character woman herself creates is like asking artists to improve the quality of their pictures by having them printed in wholesale lots.

An army can march no faster than a man. Citizenship can improve no faster than the character of our citizens.

There is one way woman can better political conditions—and all conditions—by making the children that God gives her better men and women. So long as women have selfish, dishonest and dishonorable sons we will have graft in politics, cheating in business and the women victims of such sons leading a life of shame. No woman can indict the work of men without also indicting the work of the mothers of men.

Let woman concentrate on the *human product*. It takes much more ability to make a law-abiding citizen than it does to write and pass a law. Most women know this. They are aware of their own opportunities, and are willing to delegate to men the affairs of government and politics.

Let us make good men and good laws will make themselves.

What is the great lack of our day? Is it legislation? It is not. It is citizens with the golden rule in their hearts who need no legislation to make them treat others fairly.

Politics is only *one* of many elements in our civilization. Like law, politics is the result, not the cause of a people's thoughts, experiences and customs—public opinion.

Public opinion is largely formed by woman. There is no limit to woman's power in this direction, since every human being must pass through the portals of woman's care and influence at the most impressionable age.

Woman can remake the world and remould its citizens in each succeeding generation. Is this not a big enough field for one sex? No one becomes a master by imitation, but by concentrating on his or her own part. Woman has a greater, a nobler, a more spiritual and more powerful part to play in the world's work than she can ever perform through politics. Women have made a miserable failure of life and opportunity both if they cannot train their own sons to do *something* for them, once or twice a year on election day.

Every successful person knows that he must delegate some details to others in order to have time for his best work. Eight women in ten over twenty-one marry, and there is a child under ten and another between ten and twenty for every married woman in America.

Candidly, doesn't the mother *deserve* to have the details of politics attended to by the men? Can women neither elect husbands nor rear sons capable of representing them? They can and do, according to the anti-suffragists. They don't and cannot, according to the entire series of arguments advanced by the suffragists. Which road is right?

STATES' EVIDENCE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE only resolution that was not unanimously adopted was the ninth, urging the women of the country to secure to themselves the elective franchise. Those who took part in the debate feared a demand for the right to vote would defeat others they deemed more rational, and make the whole movement ridiculous. But Mrs. Stanton and Frederick Douglas *** persistently advocated the resolution, and at least it was carried by a small majority."

History of Woman Suffrage, (Vol. 1, page 73) (Referring to resolutions adopted at first "woman's rights" convention, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 28, 1848.)

THE quotations at the top of this article should convince anyone that it is not necessary for women to vote to obtain good laws for women and children. To indicate this fact more graphically, and to confute many of the platform platitudes so often heard from suffragists, the following tables are published for the first time.

The figures, laws, etc., are given in full, without suppression, for study and comparison to indicate the sort of States that have adopted and rejected woman suffrage. No short article can do full justice to the laws of any great State. In general, it will be found that the States have more in common than otherwise; that they have all adopted similar measures at about the same time, without any reference to woman suffrage; and that about the only point of difference between the double-suffrage States and the man-suffrage States is that the latter were first to adopt modern measures of reform. The suffragists tell us that no credit is deserved for it, as conditions calling for the laws were more prevalent in the man-suffrage States. This contention, however, really establishes our case—for it proves that when conditions arise which need a legal remedy, public opinion—and not votes-for-women—demands the resultant legislation. There is no State with perfect laws or model legislation on all subjects. There are some laws in all States which need change and correction. Let us find out what they are and get them amended. Fortunately, we do not have to wait for votes-for-women in any case. If our suffrage friend tells us what women can do with the ballot, we simply refer her to good laws still unpassed in States where women vote, that have been enacted in the man-suffrage States.

DOUBLE-SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Year	For	Against	Majority	Men (1910)	Women (1910)	Men to 100 Women
Wyoming.....	1890	(Granted by Territorial Legislature)			63,201	28,840	219.1
Utah.....	1870	(Granted by Territorial Legislature); Repealed by Act of Congress, 1887					
Colorado.....	1893	35,798	29,451	6,347	271,648	213,425	127.3
Utah.....	1896	28,618	2,687	25,931	104,115	85,729	121.4
Idaho.....	1896	12,126	6,282	5,844	110,863	69,818	158.8
Washington.....	1910	52,299	29,676	22,623	441,294	277,729	158.9
California.....	1911	125,037	121,450	3,587	920,397	671,386	137.1
Arizona.....	1912	13,442	6,202	7,240	74,051	43,891	168.7
Kansas.....	1912	175,246	159,197	16,049	508,529	438,934	115.9
Oregon.....	1912	61,265	57,104	4,161	257,188	168,329	152.8
Montana.....	1914	41,302	37,588	3,714	155,017	81,741	189.6
Nevada.....	1914	10,936	7,258	3,678	40,026	18,140	220.7
Totals.....		556,069	456,895	99,192	2,946,329	2,097,962	161.5

It is worth noting that the largest majority ever given woman suffrage was 25,931 in Utah in 1896.

The largest vote in favor of woman suffrage in any of these States was 175,246 in Kansas in 1912.

The largest suffrage State, California, enfranchised 671,386 women by the smallest majority ever given for woman suffrage, 3,587, and with only 13 per cent. of the men voting in favor.

An examination of these figures convinces the candid student that woman suffrage won in every State by default, due to the small vote and to the apathy of the opposition.

In no case have as many as 35 men in 100 over twenty-one voted for woman suffrage.

"AGE OF CONSENT"

BEFORE giving the comparison of laws—as they affect the discussion of woman suffrage—we must clear the ground of several illusions made much of by the suffragists which are somewhat far-fetched when we examine them closely. The platform orator always waxes wroth over "age of consent" and "equal guardianship." These well-ridden war-horses are always paraded to frighten women not acquainted with the law.

Chief Justice John M. Harlan of the United States Supreme Court, said:

"Under the common law infants were permitted to marry at the age of consent, which in the case of males was fixed at the age of fourteen, and of females at the age of twelve. The age at which a valid marriage may be contracted has, however, been altered by statute in many jurisdictions. Under some statutes a man marrying a woman under the age of consent forfeits all interest in the property of his wife or he is made punishable criminally. Statutes of the latter class have been construed to leave the common law rule otherwise unaltered. Unless expressly made so by statute, a marriage one or both of the parties to which is under the age of consent, is not void, but is voidable at the option of the party under disability."

IF the first organized demand for the rights of women—made at the memorable convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848—had omitted the one for the franchise, those who made it would have lived to see all granted. ***

"An examination of Chapter XXIV and the following chapters in this volume will show that in many of the States all these privileges are now accorded, and in not one are all refused, but when this declaration was framed all were denied by every State. *** In many instances these have been granted in response to the direct efforts of women themselves; in others without exertion on their part through the example of neighboring States."

History of Woman Suffrage (Introduction, Vol. IV.)

MAN SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Year	For	Against	Majority	Men (1910)	Women (1910)	Men to 100 Women
Michigan.....	*1912	247,375	248,135	760	870,876	786,033	110.8
Michigan.....	1913	168,738	264,882	96,144			
Ohio.....	1912	249,420	336,875	87,455	1,484,265	1,398,341	106.1
Ohio.....	1914	335,390	518,295	182,905			
Wisconsin.....	1912	135,546	227,024	91,478	683,743	611,157	111.9
Missouri.....	1914	182,257	322,463	140,206	973,062	896,152	108.6
Nebraska.....	1914	90,738	100,842	10,104	353,626	298,040	118.7
North Dakota.....	1914	40,209	49,348	9,139	173,890	122,406	142.1
South Dakota.....	1914	39,605	51,519	11,914	178,189	134,187	132.8
Massachusetts.....	1915	162,492	295,939	133,447	1,021,669	1,074,485	95.1
New Jersey.....	1915	133,282	184,390	51,108	774,702	736,689	105.2
New York.....	1915	553,348	748,332	194,984	2,836,773	2,757,521	102.9
Pennsylvania.....	1915	385,348	441,034	55,686	2,309,026	2,114,008	109.2
Totals.....		2,226,953	3,204,068	977,115	11,659,821	10,928,989	113.0

* Only 1914 vote added.

A feature of this table is the increased majority in Michigan and Ohio on the second submission of woman suffrage.

Another point is the remarkable difference between the proportion of women in the two groups of States, the double-suffrage States having an average of 161.5 men to every 100 women, while the man-suffrage States average only 113 men to every 100 women, with Massachusetts, which scored the greatest proportionate victory over woman suffrage, showing only 95 men to 100 women.

It is also evident that woman suffrage—after sixty-seven years of effort—gained fewer recruits in Massachusetts in 1915 than in Kansas in 1912, although Massachusetts has over twice as many men and women, and 21 per cent. more women to men than Kansas.

Note the single majorities in the man-suffrage States that excel the combined pluralities of the double suffrage States.

Also, that New York, with more women than in all the suffrage States, but less men, gave 192,223 more votes against suffrage than were obtained for it in all the suffrage States.

Other studies and comparisons will suggest themselves.

MICHIGAN

Age of consent, 16. Wife granted separate property rights February 13, 1855. All wages hers. Can acquire separate property as if single. Father, if living, guardian of minor children. Husband has right to choose residence. School suffrage, 1875; municipal suffrage for tax-paying women, 1898.

10-hour day, 54-hour week for women—except in canneries. Night work prohibited 6 p. m.-6 a. m. women under 18, manufacturing establishments. Women not permitted to engage in manufacture of liquor or hazardous employment. Seats provided. Mothers' pensions. Workmen's compensation, 1912. Minimum wage (commission), 1913.

DOUBLE SUFFRAGE STATES

Suffrage speakers often mention this subject in a manner to convey the impression that States—especially in the South, with a low "age of consent" on account of early marriages—do not protect their women from criminal offenses. Almost the opposite is true. The South alone (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia) imposes a death penalty for offenses against women of any age without their consent. States which have raised the age have lowered the penalty; thus Washington, a suffrage State with the "age of consent" at 18, punishes an attack on a girl of 15 to 18 with not more than 10 years imprisonment; 10 to 15, not less than 5 years; under 10, life imprisonment, but Tennessee, a man-suffrage State with "age of consent" also at 18, has a death penalty for an attack on any woman under 18, or on any woman of any age without her consent.

In many States the age of consent to marriage and below which criminal responsibility may be imputed to the male is the same. In States where there is a difference, both ages are given.

"EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP"

Another example of "frightfulness" is "equal guardianship." The *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure* says:

"It is the cardinal rule that in a proceeding regarding the custody of an infant the court will regard the welfare of the child as the paramount consideration."

Either father, mother or both may be deprived of the custody of the child if altogether incompetent or immoral parents. While alive and attending to his parental duties, the father is usually considered the natural guardian. Strictly speaking, "equal guardianship" is a myth—for when parents contest the *joint* guardianship of their children the court rules for the child's welfare. Suffragists have horrified women for years over the prospect of having the father will away the children from the mother. Of course he can—just as any mother can will her children to be buried alive with her. There is no law against making wills no court will execute. This point, however, the suffrage speaker forgets to mention. She is not to be blamed for her ignorance. Suffrage headquarters has sent out false alarms to women for over sixty years. No suffrage speaker could hold her job unless she repeated all the old terrors based on fancy, distortion and a desire to cite grievances.

WYOMING (1869)

Age of consent, 16, 18. Married women given control of property and wages Dec. 4, 1869. Father is natural guardian, head of family, and may choose any reasonable residence.

Wyoming had no limitation of hours for women until 1915. It now fixes a limit of 10 hours a day, with a maximum of 56 hours a week.

Night work is not prohibited.

Children under 14 may not be employed more than 9 hours a day; children under 18 may not work in breweries, saloons, concert halls, etc. Women under 18 are provided with seats in stores.

Mothers' pensions and workmen's compensation enacted in 1915.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 14 entire school year.

UTAH (1870 AND 1896)

Age of consent, 18. Married women given control of separate property Feb. 16, 1872. Wife may acquire separate property in any way. Neither husband nor wife liable for separate debts of the other. Equal guardianship.

9-hour day and 54-hour week for women, except in canneries.

Women may not be employed in mines. Mothers' pensions and minimum wage 1913. Seats in stores, etc.

Boys 12, girls 16, may engage in street trades. "14-year age limit applies only to tobacco factories and those making goods for immoral purposes." *National Child Labor Committee* (Pamp. 248, Nov. 1915) under "States weakening or nullifying standard provisions by exemptions." "School attendance compulsory between 8 and 16 twenty weeks each year; 30 weeks, cities of 1st and 2d class, except cases of poverty."—N. C. L. C.

COLORADO (1893)

Age of consent, 18. Wife given control of property and wages Nov. 7, 1861. Wife may acquire property as if single. Equal guardianship. Husband may choose residence.

8-hour day—not prohibiting night work or 7-day labor—for women in manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments, laundries, hotels and restaurants. Women may not work in coal mines or coke ovens.

Seats in stores, etc.

Boys any age, girls 10, may engage in any street occupation; under 14, may not be employed in theater, concert hall, store, fac-

MAN SUFFRAGE STATES

15-year limit on child labor—especially commended by National Child Labor Committee, *Annual Report*, 1915. Exemption: children of 14 on vacation, fruit or vegetable canneries.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 16 entire school year, except children having completed 8th grade, and over 14 in cases of poverty.

OHIO

Age of consent, 16. Code of 1835 conferred right to will property upon married women. Code of 1880 gave them control of wages. Can acquire property as if single. Father guardian and head of family, but wife entitled to all exemptions. Limited school suffrage in 1894.

10-hour day, 54-hour week for women—except in canneries. Night work prohibited 6 p. m.—7 a. m. for women under 18. Women excluded from mines, barrooms, hazardous occupations, etc. Seats provided. Mothers' pensions, 1913. Workmen's compensation, 1912.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, boys under 16, girls under 18, occupations prohibited to boys under 15, girls under 16.

Street work, boys 10, girls 16; boys under 14 must have badge and permit and may not work after 8 p. m.

15-years boys, girls 16-years, age limit mill, factory, workshop, distribution, transmission or sale of merchandise. No minors in saloons.

Day school attendance compulsory entire school year for boys between 8 and 15; for girls between 8 and 16.

Ohio was the first State to codify its children's laws; and the first State to pass an amendment to its Constitution granting the Legislature the right to limit hours of labor.

WISCONSIN

Age of consent, 18. Wives gained control of property Feb. 1, 1853. Wages and earnings secured to her March 25, 1872. Father guardian if living with family. Married woman may employ her husband at salary and her business is free from attachment for his debts. School suffrage for women in 1890. Minimum wage, 1912. Mothers' pensions, 1913—although Wisconsin, with Missouri and Illinois, claims credit for origination of mothers' pensions idea in 1911.

8-hour day and 48-hour week for women if work is done before 6 a. m. or after 8 p. m.

(Wisconsin was the first State to pass an 8-hour law for women, having enacted a law in 1867 forbidding an employer to compel a woman to work more than 8 hours. The law was difficult to enforce.)

10-hour day, 55-hour week—with 1 hour for meals—applies to all employments, including canning. Seats in stores and shops.

Night work prohibited 6 p. m.—7 a. m. under 16, any gainful occupation.

Street trades, boys 12, girls 18, cities of 1st class. (Compare with Colorado, etc.)

14-year age limit factory, workshop or any gainful occupation except agriculture and domestic service. 16 years, tobacco factories, theatres, etc.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 14 (16 unless regularly employed) entire year in cities of 1st class; 8 months in other cities, 6 months in towns and villages. Workmen's compensation, 1915.

MISSOURI

Age of consent, 18, 14. Wives granted control of property and wages March 5, 1870. Can acquire property in any way. Equal guardianship.

9-hour day, 54-hour week for women, except in canneries, 90 days a year in places less than 10,000. Mothers' pensions, 1911.

8-hour day, 48-hour week under 16, any gainful occupation. Minors and women may not clean moving machinery.

Street work, boys 12, girls 16.

14-year age limit any gainful occupation except agriculture and domestic service. Night work prohibited 7 p. m.—7 a. m. under 16, any occupation.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 14 entire school year (16 if illiterate or unemployed). School year not less than 16 weeks.

NEBRASKA

Age of consent, 18. Wives granted control of property and wages in 1870. Can acquire property in any way. Husband head of family, but equal guardianship. School and taxation suffrage, 1883.

9-hour day and 54-hour week for women—except in canneries.

Seats in shops and stores.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, certain occupations.

14-year age limit, stores, offices, hotels, etc. 16-year limit, occupations dangerous to health or morals. Night work prohibited 8 p. m.—6 a. m. under 16, and from 10 p. m.—6 a. m. women under 9-hour law.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 15 in country at

DOUBLE SUFFRAGE STATES

tory, etc.; under 16 may not perform in concert hall or place where liquor is sold, variety theaters, immoral or dangerous exhibitions (*N. C. L. C. Pamph. 249, July, 1916*); 8-hour day, 48-hour week, and night work prohibited after 8 p. m. under 16. Minimum wage, 1913; mothers' pensions, 1912; workmen's compensation, 1915.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 16 entire school year, except cases of poverty, and children over 14 completing 8th grade.

IDAHO (1896)

Age of consent, 18. Wives given power to will separate property—acquired before marriage or after marriage by gift or inheritance—in 1887. Idaho is a "community property" State—all property acquired after marriage except by gift or inheritance jointly owned by husband and wife. Husband has exclusive control. Idaho wives obtained better separate property rights in 1915. Father is guardian and may choose residence.

9-hour day—not prohibiting night work of 7-day labor—for women, except in canneries. Mothers' pensions, 1913. No minimum wage or workmen's compensation.

9-hour day, 54-hour week, under 16, any gainful occupation. Children under 14 may work only during regular vacations, in mine, factory, workshop, store, telegraph office, messenger service, etc. Under 16 may not dance, sing, beg, peddle, or take part in immoral or injurious exhibition.

Night work prohibited, under 16; all gainful occupations.

School attendance between 8 and 18 entire school year except cases of poverty and over 14 who have completed 8th grade.

WASHINGTON (1910)

Age of consent, 18. Married women obtained control of separate property and wages Nov. 14, 1879. Equal guardianship. Any calling open to women over 19. Seats in all establishments.

8-hour day—not prohibiting night work or 7-day labor—for women, except in canneries. Minimum wage, 1913; mothers' pensions, 1913; workmen's compensation, 1911.

8-hour day and no night work after 7.30 p. m. for children under 18, mercantile establishments, etc. Street work permitted at 12 years; not under 14 years, factory, mill, workshop, store, except in cases of poverty, with court or Commissioner of Labor permit.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 15, twenty-four weeks.

CALIFORNIA (1911)

Age of consent, 18. Wives obtained separate property privileges—if living apart from husbands—March 9, 1870. If wife lives with husband her wages and earnings are "community property" and belong equally to both. Husband has sole management and absolute power of disposition, but cannot give it away without a valid consideration without wife's written consent. A better provision, allowing wives to acquire separate property, as in other States, enacted in 1915. Separate property of each and community property liable for support of children. Father entitled to custody, service and earnings of minor child. If living apart, husband has no superior rights. Husband may choose residence and wife must conform thereto. Wife must support husband if he is infirm and without other means.

8-hour day, 48-hour week for women—except in canneries. Seats in stores.

California's 8-hour day might excite enthusiasm if it covered canning—the State's greatest industry for women. One-third of all canning and fruit packing in the United States is done in California—all the year around. The 8-hour day was passed before women voted. They have not been able to make it cover canning. (But whenever the canners of Massachusetts, New York or Wisconsin want *their* industries excepted for a few weeks from the limitation laws, the suffragists have horrors and exhibit it as a shameful showing of the need of woman's vote!)

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 18, any gainful occupation. 15 years, age limit in mercantile, manufacturing or mechanical establishment, except over 12 years on school holidays and vacations and 14 years outside of school hours with permit. School attendance compulsory between 8 and 15, entire school year; exemption, over 12 with permit.

Street work, boys 10, girls 18, cities of 23,000 or over.

Workmen's compensation, 1911. Minimum wage and mothers' pensions, 1913.

ARIZONA (1912)

Age of consent, 18, 14. Wives granted control of separate property, 1864. All property not acquired by gift or inheritance after marriage is "community property" controlled by husband. Equal guardianship.

8-hour day, 56-hour week for women in laundries, bakeries, mercantile establishments, hotels, restaurants. Night work prohibited from 7 p. m. to 7 a. m. for boys under 16, girls under 18.

MAN SUFFRAGE STATES

least 12 weeks, and two-thirds of school year if schools are in session. Attendance compulsory to 16 entire school year in cities.

Minimum wage, 1913; mothers' pensions, 1913, workmen's compensation, 1913.

NORTH DAKOTA

Age of consent, 18. Wives obtained property rights Jan. 12, 1866; power to control wages, Jan. 13, 1871. Can acquire property in any way. Husband head of family. Women given school suffrage, 1887.

10-hour day for women all mechanical and manufacturing establishments. Mothers' pensions, 1915.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, any gainful occupation. 14-year age limit factory, workshop, mercantile establishment, etc. 16 years, specified dangerous occupations. Night work prohibited 7 p. m. to 7 a. m., under 16, any gainful occupation.

School attendance between 8 and 15 entire school year except in cases of poverty.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Age of consent, 21, 18. Wives given property rights January 12, 1866, and control of wages January 13, 1871. Father guardian and head of family. School suffrage in 1887.

No limitation hours of labor for women. Women under 21 may not be employed in barrooms. Seats furnished in stores, etc. Mothers' pensions, 1913.

10-hour day, 60-hour week, under 16 except on Saturday and 10 days before Christmas. 14-year age limit factory, workshop, mercantile establishment, except during school vacation, and in cases of poverty with permit from school superintendent.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 16 entire school year. May be excused with minimum attendance of 16 weeks if completed 6th grade.

There is room for improvement in the laws of South Dakota. Less than 15 per cent. of the women and girls over 10 are gainfully occupied, and less than 1,000 women are engaged in any occupation usually covered by limitation of hours. This probably accounts for their absence. At least, suffragists excuse the backwardness of Wyoming, Utah and Kansas in this manner.

MASSACHUSETTS

Age of consent, 16. Control of property and wages since May 5, 1855. All property acquired by wife in any way is wife's separate estate. Husband must join in conveyance of real estate. Wife must consent to assignment of husband's wages. Equal guardianship. School suffrage, 1879.

10-hour day and 54-hour week for women, including canning. No night work from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. in textile factories. Otherwise prohibited from 10 p. m.-6 a. m.

Massachusetts was first State to uphold a 10-hour law for women, 1876.

Seats are provided. Minimum wage, with highest State penalty, 1912.

Mothers' pensions, 1913. Workmen's compensation, 1912.

Street trades, boys 12, girls 18, cities of 50,000 or over.

14-year age limit factory, workshop, etc.; 16 years, tobacco factories, bowling alleys, etc.; 21 years, saloons.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, certain occupations.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 14 entire school year (16 unless completed 4th grade or employed). Illiterate minors between 16 and 21 required to attend night school entire session, where established.

Massachusetts has a maternity act providing 6 weeks' rest for mothers, such as does not exist in any State where women vote.

NEW JERSEY

Age of consent, 18. Married women given control of property, March 25, 1852. Control of wages, July 18, 1876. Father guardian. Married woman cannot bind her property for the debt or default of another. Husband responsible for civil injuries. Husband must have wife's consent to assign wages. School suffrage.

10-hour day, 60-hour week for women, except in canneries. Seats in stores and shops.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, certain occupations.

Mothers' pensions, 1915. Workmen's compensation, 1911. New Jersey was the first State to adopt workmen's compensation. The New Jersey widow obtains \$2.00 more a week and \$1,500 more in total payments than the widow of Colorado, and secured this protection over four years before it was granted to the voting women of Colorado. (Colorado places the cheapest valuation on a working man's life in the United States, \$2,500.)

14-year age limit newspaper plant, printery, factory, workshop, etc. 16 years, cleaning moving machinery. Night work prohibited 7 p. m.-7 a. m. under 16, certain occupations. Street work, boys 10, girls 16, selling newspapers. Permit required under 14. (Compare with Colorado.)

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 16 entire school year, except over 14 if regularly employed.

DOUBLE SUFFRAGE STATES

"Boys 10, girls 16, selling anything in streets, 10 years, boot-blacks."—*N. C. L. C. Pamphlet No. 249, Nov., 1915.*
 Workmen's compensation, 1912.
 School attendance between 8 and 16 entire school year.

KANSAS (1912)

Age of consent, 15, 18. Wives obtained control separate property October 31, 1868. Husband entitled to wife's wages unless she is living apart and not supported by him. Equal guardianship.

No limitations on the hours of labor for women over 16. Seats in stores, shops, etc. Workmen's compensation, 1911.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, in factory, workshop, theater, packing house, operating elevators, mine. Night work prohibited from 6 p. m. to 7 a. m., under 16.

School attendance between 8 and 15 entire school year, except "children of 14 who can read and write English and necessarily employed need attend school only 8 weeks annually." *N. C. L. C. Pamphlet No. 249, p. 18, Nov., 1915.*

There is room for much improvement in Kansas—the double-suffrage State with the largest vote in favor.

OREGON (1912)

Age of consent, 18. Wives given separate property rights, December 5, 1853. Equal guardianship.

10-hour day, 54-hour week, women over 16, manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishment, laundries, hotels, restaurants and offices. Seats in specified shops and stores. Minimum wage, mothers' pensions and workmen's compensation, 1913.

8-hour 20-minute day, 50-hour week, women, mercantile establishments (Portland).

9-hour day, 54-hour week, women, manufacturing establishments (Portland).

10-hour day, 60-hour week, fruit and vegetable canneries, 6 weeks May to December. Night work prohibited after 8:30 p. m. except telephone, telegraph, confectionery establishment, restaurant, hotel. After 6 p. m. for girls under 18. 14-year age limit, factory, workshop, etc.

School attendance compulsory between 9 and 15, entire school year, except children who have completed 8th grade.

NEVADA (1914)

Age of consent, 16. Wife could control wages—if sole trader—Feb. 6, 1867. Power to will property, Feb. 27, 1873. Community property prevails. Husband has control and may dispose of it with or without wife's consent. Woman may not employ her husband to run her business. Father guardian.

Boys 14, girls 16 age limit store, shop, factory, any inside employment not connected with farm or house work.

"18 years, begging, messenger to immoral house, injurious exhibition."

—*N. C. L. C. Pamphlet 249, p. 34.*

8-hour day, 48-hour week, boys under 16, girls under 18, any gainful occupation except agriculture and domestic service.

Night work prohibited 10 p. m.—5 a. m., under 18, messenger service.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 16 entire school year, except cases of poverty and children who have completed 8th grade.

Workmen's compensation, 1911. No minimum wage. Mothers' pensions, 1915.

MONTANA (1914)

Age of consent, 16, 18. Married women granted control of property, 1872, and control of wages, 1874. Can acquire separate property as if single. Father guardian and head of family. Wife must support husband if necessary.

9-hour day—without prohibition of night work or 7-day labor—in certain establishments. Any occupation open to women. Under 14, must be approved by school superintendent on proof of age and completion of certain studies. School attendance between 8 and 14 entire school year of not less than 16 weeks. Workmen's compensation, 1915.

"Any legislation that will do for man we will abide by most cheerfully. * * * Undo what man did for us and strike out all special legislation for us. We do not tax man to take care of us. These women who are called masculine, who are brave, courageous, self-reliant and independent. * * * This is our type of womanhood. Will you help us raise it up?"

Susan B. Anthony, *Suffrage Pioneer, to the New York Legislature, 1860.*

Special laws for women exist in spite of the sixty-year-old suffrage demand for "equal rights."

Copies of this article in pamphlet form may be had for \$1.00 a hundred, \$7.50 a thousand, postpaid. Address, THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

MAN SUFFRAGE STATES

NEW YORK

Age of consent, 18. Wives granted separate property rights, 1848. Control of wages, March 20, 1861. (A New York judge in 1915 decided against the contention of a wife that certain attached property of her husband was really purchased by her earnings during a period of 10 years of which she had kept no separate account or estate. The story was widely exploited by suffragists—but was suspected in court as a ruse to defraud creditors.) Equal guardianship. School suffrage in 1880.

Women paying taxes were granted suffrage on matters of local taxation in towns and villages, 1901. In 1910, women in all towns and villages and 3d class cities were granted suffrage on bond issues.

9-hour day, 54-hour week, 1 hour for meals, no night work from 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. for women in factories. 9-hour day, 54-hour week, 45 min. lunch, no night work 10 p. m. to 7 a. m., mercantile establishments. Seats in factories, shops, mercantile establishments, etc.

10-hour day, 60-hour week, 1-hour lunch, no night work 10 p. m. to 6 a. m., canning and preserving perishable products. From June 15 to Oct. 15, in canneries, 12-hour day and 66-hour week; from June 25 to Aug. 5 under special rule issued by Industrial Board.

Maternity act, mothers' pensions, workmen's compensation. Minimum wage (commission).

6-hour day, boys over 12 gathering produce.

8-hour day, 48-hour week under 16, certain occupations.

Boys 12, girls 16, selling newspapers, etc., cities of 1st, 2d and 3d class.

14-year age limit mercantile establishment, office, hotel, apartment house, etc. 16 years, singing, dancing, theatrical exhibitions, except children in speaking parts with permit from mayor.

18 years for boys, and all women, prohibited extra-hazardous occupations.

Night work prohibited 5 p. m.—8 a. m. under 16, factories.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 14, places of 5,000 or more, entire school year (not less than 160 days) between 8 and 14 places less than 5,000. 16 years anywhere unless employed.

PENNSYLVANIA

Age of consent, 21, 16. Married women obtained separate property rights April 11, 1848—first act of its kind in the world (passed 3 months before first woman's rights convention). Amplified in 1887, and 1893. Husband must join in conveyance of wife's real estate. Wages belong to her. Equal guardianship where mother contributes anything to support of minor child. No suffrage.

10-hour day, 54-hour week, 45-minute lunch, women, all establishments except fruit and vegetable canneries. 9-hour day, 51-hour week, under 16, of which 8 hours must be devoted to vocational instruction in a day school but not on Saturday, thus reducing actual working week to 37 hours, the high-water mark for limitation of child labor. \$1,000,000 was appropriated in 1915 to provide suitable schools.

14-year age limit any occupation, except boys 12, selling newspapers before 8 p. m. No girl under 21 may engage in street occupations. (Compare with Colorado, Wyoming, California, Idaho, Utah and Washington provisions.) Mothers' pensions, 1913. "Pennsylvania has the best mothers' pension act in the United States"—National Congress of Mothers.

Workmen's compensation, 1915.

Night work prohibited 8 p. m. to 6 a. m., boys under 16, girls under 21, any street occupation. 8 p. m. to 6 a. m., under 21, messenger service. 9 p. m. to 6 a. m. girls under 21, any occupation except telephone operators over 18. 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. all women except managers, clerks, stenographers, etc.

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 16 entire school year, except over 14 if employed and literate. Minors 14 and 15 employed must attend day continuation schools, not less than 8 hours a week.

"Because of the physical differences between man and woman, the working woman is exposed to dangers which do not so seriously threaten the man worker. She, therefore, is granted special legislative favors."

Irene Osgood Andrews, in "Woman and the Law," 1913.

THE LAWS OF THE CAMPAIGN STATES

IOWA

"WE feel that the conditions here are now very hopeful, and the reports of our organizers and speakers give us great encouragement," writes Mrs. Simon Casady, president of the Iowa Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The work of the Iowa women against suffrage has been marked by the usual charges against them, and by the usual successes anti-suffragists always have in answering these charges. One suffragist who declared that the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association was supported by liquor interests could not be found when the Iowa antis tried to locate her at suffrage headquarters. They were ashamed or afraid to give her address, that she might be called upon to take back the charge.

To PROTEST readers, it will probably be most interesting to give the laws of Iowa in this number, for comparison with the other States listed on the preceding pages.

Age of consent, 14, 15. Married women obtained separate property rights in 1851. In 1873, wives secured control of their property and wages. Equal guardianship. Both inherit equally the entire estate if there are no children.

8-hour day, 48-hour week, under 16, certain occupations. 14-year age limit, mine, manufacturing establishment, factory, mill, shop, etc., where more than 8 persons are employed, except establishments owned or operated by parents. Mothers' pensions and workmen's compensation.

Night work prohibited, 6 p. m.—7 a. m. under 16, certain occupations; 10 p. m.—5 a. m., under 18, messenger service, cities of 10,000 or over. Boys 11, girls 18, may engage in street trades.

School attendance compulsory between 7 and 16, except children who have completed 8th grade and children over 14 regularly employed.

Note.—The State of Illinois, where women have municipal and Presidential suffrage, has been omitted from these tables because women do not vote for Illinois law-makers.

WEST VIRGINIA

THE West Virginia campaign is being conducted with vigor by the local committees in Charleston, Wheeling and other cities. The State Association will be formed by these committees at an early date.

The Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which has had some of its best workers in West Virginia for several months, has recently sent them to help with the Iowa campaign.

Mrs. Orville D. Oliphant, of Trenton, N. J., the chief speaker in last year's Pennsylvania campaign; Miss Florence R. Hall, of Bryn Mawr, who managed the Pennsylvania publicity campaign, Mr. George R. Mann and others have gone to Iowa for the last few weeks of the campaign there.

All the Eastern State Associations have joined in helping with the Iowa campaign, and when that is over on June 7th, they will swing their forces into the other campaign States.

West Virginia's laws, for comparison with the preceding article, are as follows:

Age of consent, 16. Married women granted separate property rights March 2, 1868, and control of wages, 1884 and 1893. Equal guardianship. No woman suffrage.

Limitation of hours lacking. 14-year age limit, factory, mill, workshop, manufacturing establishment. Under 14 with permit from Commissioner of Labor. Women and boys under 16 may not work in mines. Minors and women may not clean moving machinery. 16-year age limit certain occupations. 18-year limit for girls in street trades. (Compare with Colorado.)

Seats are provided for women in manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile and other establishments. Workmen's compensation. (See page 16, PROTEST, March, 1916.)

School attendance compulsory between 8 and 15, 24 weeks. (Compare with Kansas.)

THE SOUTH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THE South is not in favor of votes-for-women. If proof of that were needed, the reception of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge and Miss Lucy Jean Price at Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee, recently, would furnish it abundantly. The suffragists have long been organized, they have gained a few followers and have expended their best efforts to win the South. In 1914, both the National Suffrage Association and the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference met in Tennessee. But since that time so much has happened, both to suffrage as a national issue and to the various factions of woman suffragists in Tennessee, that a body of women in Nashville recently decided to ask the president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage to come and tell the "other side."

Alarmed at the approach of the antis, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt made the following "bad guess," as the Nashville *Banner* called it, as to what the president of the anti-suffragists would say.

"She is a woman who believes terrible things about us," Mrs. Catt is reported as saying. "She will perhaps say that even if we are not immoral ourselves, we are standing for immorality—that we are teaching immoral doctrines * * *. She will tell them that the real backbone of suffrage is Mormonism."

Many who came to hear the anti-suffragists with this idea were taken completely by surprise when no mention of Mormonism or attack on the suffragists was made. Instead, the anti-suffragists set forth their own platform and positive principles.

Mrs. Dodge's address, which was widely quoted and commented upon in the South, was a plea for the maintenance of

woman's non-partisanship, for "unity of effort and purpose" among women, who, she declared, "barring the disrupting suffrage agitation, are working unitedly on countless civic enterprises." She concluded with our platform: "We stand for the conservation of the best of American womanhood of all conditions and stations of life, for the preservation of the home, for the retention of the best ideals of preceding generations adapted to the advantages and opportunities given to women under modern conditions. We believe that women according to their leisure, opportunity and experience should take part increasingly in civic and municipal affairs as they always have done in charitable, philanthropic and educational activities, and we believe that this can best be done without the ballot by women, as a non-partisan body of disinterested workers."

Both at Nashville and Chattanooga, it was found that the women opposed to suffrage had merely awaited the psychological moment to express their opposition. The hospitality for which the South is famous was exhibited on all occasions so graciously that the different political opinions were discussed without any of the bitterness so common in some campaigns. Though the suffragists came to the anti meetings armed with sheets of questions, and did what they could to counteract the effect of the anti-suffrage activity, it was pleasant to note the absence of the usual charges. The South, where so much territory has become "dry" without votes-for-women, was courteous enough to consider the question of suffrage as a separate issue, to be decided on its merits, without recrimination on either side.

HOW WOMEN VOTE ON BONDS FOR SCHOOLS

By a Member of the St. Paul Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

THE recent election in St. Paul, Minnesota, on the question of a bond issue of \$1,000,000 for school purposes, throws a brilliant light on many debatable phases of the demand for suffrage.

For the past year or two St. Paul, in common with many other cities, has suffered from inadequate school facilities. Many children had to be put off with half-day sessions. Some of the buildings were far behind the times. It was understood by the public that considerable improvements should and would be made.

Suddenly the City Council sprung a proposal for a million dollars in bonds, to be issued and expended at the pleasure of the Commissioner of Education. There was no official opposition; each party perhaps scenting possible advantages from the handling of such a sum. Under the charter there must be a referendum vote on the issuance of new bonds, and the election was set for March 7th.

A tremendous effort was made to secure the approval of the bond issues. All the politicians were for it. All the newspapers supported it. Its advocates sought and obtained the help of the woman suffrage leaders. They entered into the campaign with almost the same vigor as if suffrage itself were at stake. They proposed to show, indirectly, what the suffrage could accomplish; since women for many years have had the right under State law to vote at all elections where school questions are involved. Representatives of the suffragists plead through the newspapers for the bond issue, addressed meetings daily and nightly, organized their work thoroughly and made a canvass of many of the places where large numbers of women were employed.

This identity of interest was accepted and boasted. Two weeks before the election, the *St. Paul Dispatch*, very favorable to the suffrage movement, said editorially: "It is a fact of some significance that while the interest in the school bonds campaign is strongly marked among the women, it is for the most part, if not wholly, among the women who are fighting for the right to vote * * *. It means something, if it may be said that those women who take the most active part in important civic affairs are the same women who believe in tearing down the lines between the political equality of the sexes; because the corollary is that the opponents of suffrage are those who do not manifest this civic interest."

Here is the issue very clearly joined. Meantime the opposition to the bonds had no other means of expression than the distribution of a circular stating its reasons. These were: that the sum required was excessive; that an attempt was being made to add a million to the city debt by a campaign of excitement and hysteria; that a survey of the school situation should be made by competent authority, the needs tabulated, the cost appraised, and a proposal for bonds to that amount voted on. Under these conditions there would be no objection to any bond issue needed to cover the total. It was pointed out that the proposed million dollar issue was extravagant, based on no scientific data of need, hastily proposed and supported more by exaggeration than argument; unprotected against obvious possibilities of abuse.

Substantially all the announced suffragists were for the bond issue; either for its own sake or as a means of demonstrating the power of the women's vote. The organization of women opposed to suffrage took no position whatever; leaving its members and sympathizers free to consult what they thought to be the highest public interest. No conditions could be named more favorable to a display of suffrage strength. Here are the official results of the bond election, at which nothing else was voted on:

	Men	Women
For the bond issue.....	9,085	3,366
Against the bond issue.....	15,872	4,081

These figures need no extended comment; a few obvious conclusions sum up their tremendous force.

1. Suffrage advocates, unopposed, cannot control a majority of women votes, even on a question of public education.

2. The result of the combined vote was the same as the vote would have been if men alone or women alone had voted. Another proof that suffrage doubles the labor without changing the result.

3. The bulk of the women's vote against the bonds was cast by those who deferred to the overwhelming judgment of the men that the proposition was unwise. So it will ever be and ought to be.

4. Relatively the largest vote by women against the bonds, and indirectly against suffrage, was cast in those parts of St. Paul inhabited by the representative class between the poor and those of independent means.

5. From whatever angle approached, the results of this election are an interesting study, confirming as they do in so many different ways the position of those opposed to suffrage.

SINCE MIRANDY GOT THE VOTE

(From the Cincinnati, Ohio, *Times-Star*)

NOW about my wife Mirandy,
 Since she cast a vote so handy
 Why I thought that act would end it
 And that nothing would be changed;
 But alas for calculation!
 'Randy's out to save the nation
 And she rants and raves about it
 Like a creature half deranged.
 Wonder why I ever married
 For the weight that Atlas carried
 Was a feather to the burden which Mirandy has assumed.
 Morning, noon and night she preaches,
 She's composing suffrage speeches;
 When she starts to tour the country
 Goodbye Happiness—you're doomed!
 Joining this and that and t'other
 Is no business for a mother
 With a baby home a crying till it's almost out of breath.
 Clubs on civic education,
 Clubs on every known relation
 To this world or any other till Mirandy's clubbed to death.
 Now she talks on infant culture,
 Says disease is like a vulture
 That to leave it unrestricted,
 Unprevented would be crime.
 Got to fight it every minute.
 I believe there's something in it
 For it seems to me the baby grows more peaked all the time.
 Since Mirandy took to voting
 There is one thing I've been noting
 That a woman maybe can do all the duties of a man,
 But the home is bound to suffer
 When the man, poor helpless duffer,
 Tries to mother little kiddies
 Out of line with Nature's plan.
 Oh the life I have been leading
 And the moths that have been feeding
 Waxing fat by generations on my go-to-meeting coat!
 Maybe she is now my equal
 But—I'll finish with this sequel
 I've been driven to distraction since Mirandy got the vote.

FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ.

WHY THE SUFFRAGE SENATORS USED AN OLD TREATY

ON Tuesday, April 25th, Senator Shafroth of Colorado sent to the Vice-President's desk the resolution for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States enfranchising women without their consent. Senator Shafroth, his colleague Senator Thomas, and other suffrage Senators, devoted four pages of the *Congressional Record* to another suffrage article, the conclusion to which included the reprint of a secret treaty between Austria, France, Russia and Prussia, signed November 22, 1822!

Moderns may wonder why the senators introduced this document as a suffrage plea. Suffragists seem to be going back farther all the time to find the "latest arguments." But the explanation is simple. Not being able to prove that suffrage is a right, that the majority of the women want to vote, or that it is democratic to force the vote upon the States in spite of the will of the majority of both men and women, the senators were able to show that in 1822, the representatives of four foreign monarchies signed a treaty criticizing representative government!

There are several other "gems" in these

speeches. One is the statement that "The arrogance with which men assert that women have a sphere to which they should be confined must be irritating to women of thought and action. Who gave men the right to determine woman's sphere without even consulting her?"

That is what the anti-suffragists would like to know! It is irritating to women to have men—even senators—assert that all women must be confined to the sphere of party politics, without consulting women, and in spite of the expressed opposition of women and of the votes of the husbands, fathers and sons who represent those women and do consult them.

Another gem is the confession that the vote of women in Denver was reduced from 29,085 in 1912 to 25,315 in 1914, showing an increase of political indifference in the largest city of the senators' own State.

"Higher wages from suffrage" was given as a heading—but no statistics were listed. Scott Nearing, a suffragist, in "Wages in the United States," shows that only twelve States publish reliable wage data, only one of which, Kansas, is a suffrage State.

A senator may say what he pleases about

wages and suffrage, but it is interesting, at least, to compare Scott Nearing's two tables for Massachusetts—the State scoring the heaviest defeat of woman suffrage—and Kansas—the suffrage State giving the largest suffrage vote. From pages 43 and 77 we get this comparison:

	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN RECEIVING			
	Less than \$5 a week	Less than \$7 a week	More than \$10 a week	More than \$12 a week
Mass.	8%	24%	21%	8%
Kansas...	25%	61%	12%	4%

The Senators cannot be blamed for going to Europe and back to 1822 for a suffrage argument. It was difficult, no doubt, to get more modern material with which to try to defeat democracy and State rights.

"Better nominations" when women vote is another heading—a delicate compliment to the men in Congress not elected by double suffrage!

But this article, probably, like those of the last forty years, which Mrs. Catt says "They got franked for nothing" will be sent out by the hundred thousand to attempt to force the vote on women without their consent or consultation!

"SHAMING" THE "SAVAGES"—A SCHEME THAT FAILED

ONE of the most violent—and far-fetched—attacks on the antis was recently blazed across the editorial page of a chain of yellow journals. The article declared that anti-suffragists are like a savage—who was pictured driving his wife with the dogs. The picture which inspired the attack—if not the written matter—was supplied by and credited to the leader and chief supporter of the Congressional Union.

The anti-suffragists "are savages themselves although they don't know it," said the editor, and readers were urged to "shame" the antis by sending them copies of the article, which closed with the words, "you are both savages." So far, no anti-suffragist connected with the Man-Suffrage Association, the National or the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage can be found who has received one of these would-be insults. The *PROTEST* would like to hear from any anti-suffragist who has received one. Several million sheets of previously good white paper were wasted if nobody followed the editor's sensational suggestion, which would indicate more circulation than popularity for such attacks.

The day the editorial appeared, the paper was asked if it would print a reply. A member of the staff suggested sending one,

and indicated that it would be used, but said some one "higher up" would have to make the final decision.

No notice having been taken of the reply which was sent, a letter containing the following paragraphs was sent to the editor a week later:

"We hesitate to believe that the * * * after publishing an editorial attacking the anti-suffragists as savages * * *, in which those who oppose woman suffrage are indicted and convicted on altogether mistaken ideas of their beliefs, would refuse to extend the courtesy of a hearing to the accused.

The leading anti-suffrage paper of New York always gives both sides and has printed as many as fifty letters in answer to one editorial against suffrage.

We feel that among editors favoring woman suffrage there is often a conspicuous lack of this spirit of fair play. Is it because suffragists believe it necessary to suppress our side, and do not feel equal to the antis in fair discussion?

We hope you will inform us as to whether the * * * has or will print any answer to the editorial mentioned, otherwise, we would like to release the reply with the notation that the editor who called us savages refused to allow his readers to see our answer."

No reply was received to this communication.

Then the following letter was addressed to the secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

"Would you mind telling us whether your association has indorsed or used the editorial entitled 'This Gentleman Opposes Woman Suffrage,' which appeared in the * * * April 16th?"

The following answer, signed by the publicity manager, was received:

"In reply to your letter of April 28th I have no objection to informing you that our association has neither endorsed nor used the editorial entitled 'This Gentleman Opposes Woman Suffrage,' which appeared in the New York Sunday * * * April 16th."

The National Suffrage Association always exercises more dignity and taste in its methods and discussions than the Congressional Union, the "militants."

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST is glad to record the fact that neither the public nor the National Suffrage Association could be induced by the leader of the Congressional Union and the editor of a yellow journal to mail insults to anti-suffragists as "savages."

The answer to the editorial may be had upon application by anyone interested.

THE ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

CONNECTICUT

ALTHOUGH the presidential elections are months away, and the opening of the campaign does not come until September, the directorate of the State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is already planning for a campaign committee similar in organization to those of the republican and democratic State central committees. By so doing they will "be prepared" to wage war against the efforts of the suffragists from the beginning of the campaign. This committee will in all probability consist of members from each senatorial district who will act as heads of their own organizations, and who, in turn, will appoint other members in their districts, thereby reporting for every town in the State through the district chairmen to the directorate in Hartford. After Easter the campaign of publicity, through addresses and debates with suffragist speakers, will be continued, but during Holy Week no meetings were held, although Mrs. D. A. Markham, the State president, and Mrs. Lynde Harrison, of New Haven, went to New York for the national directors' meeting.

An interesting report was made at the meeting on an address delivered to the congregation of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, by the Rev. J. H. McMahon, in which the priest declared, while preaching on the subject of "Suffrage and Morals," that the Catholic church, and particularly Catholic women, should organize to counteract any foothold woman suffrage may gain, "any inroads it may make among their number. The movement now aims at an individualism which will lead to feminism and lax standards of morals. It would result in the degradation of women rather than their uplifting," said Father McMahon.

MASSACHUSETTS

MISS MARY SHREVE AMES has charge of the anti-suffrage entertainment at the Wilbur Theater, Boston, Monday, May 8th, at 2.30 p. m.

Her assistants with the program and list of patronesses are Mrs. I. Tucker Burr, Mrs. Howard Elliott and Mrs. Ezra R. Thayer. Miss Eleanor W. Allen has charge of the music, and is assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Lang and Mrs. Frederic R. Galacar. The finance committee includes Messrs. I. Tucker Burr, Charles Francis Adams 2d and Richard M. Saltonstall.

Mrs. A. H. Parker presided at a meeting of the branch chairmen of the state, held at headquarters in the Kensington building. Chairmen from all over the State were in attendance, and much interest was

aroused by the reports of the workers in the field in Iowa. Later there was an informal luncheon at Cook's, when Mrs. John Balch, Mrs. Henry Preston White and Mrs. Edwin Ford gave interesting accounts of their visit to the west.

NEW JERSEY

THE annual luncheon and business meeting of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, held May 2d, at the Washington, Newark, was the occasion of a great rally of the anti-suffrage forces of that State.

Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, who was re-elected president of the association, gave a comprehensive review of the New Jersey campaign last fall, closing with an eloquent plea for co-operation with the National Association in the campaign States of Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota.

"New Jersey has always stood out in everything she has done," said Mrs. Breese, "and therefore she must lead the way in this."

Plans were perfected for extending the organization into every county, town and hamlet in the State.

The first speaker was Miss Lucy Jean Price. Calling attention to decorations of orange and black left from a previous banquet, Miss Price aroused a general laugh with her opening sentence: "I hope that you observe the mourning band across the yellow."

Miss Price declared that the effect of woman suffrage would not be good upon the government, upon women, or upon society. "It was because four States realized that we are more valuable outside of politics than in it that woman suffrage was defeated last November," she said. "We know that no good law was ever passed in a State after woman suffrage was extended to it that had not been previously passed in a male suffrage State."

Mr. John A. Matthews, former member of the New Jersey Legislature, said that the suffragists had been going around complaining of child labor in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where conditions were really much better than in Colorado, "that paragon of suffrage imperfection" where children from 8 to 17 were being exploited.

The officers elected are listed on page two.

NEW YORK

THE active members of the Brooklyn Auxiliary of New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage held their annual meeting at the residence of Mrs. William A. Putnam, 70 Willow Street, April 18th. Mrs. Henry E. Ide, chairman of

the nominating committee, presented the names for officers and an executive board to serve for two years as follows:

President, Mrs. William A. Putnam; Vice-President, Mrs. Horatio M. Adams; Secretary, Mrs. George Phillips; Treasurer, Miss Edith Brett Southard; to serve for two years—Miss Marguerite A. Beggs, Mrs. William H. Ford, Miss Marie C. Gelpcke, Mrs. Russell M. Herrick, Mrs. Frederick W. Moss, Mrs. William Murray, Mrs. Frederick T. Parsons, Mrs. Edgar S. Shumway.

Mrs. William A. Putnam presided and made an earnest appeal for financial support in the coming year and a half. She paid a tribute to the men of Kings County, who had voted against the woman suffrage amendment. She said that she believed this adverse vote would be largely increased in another election.

The secretary, Mrs. George Phillips, read the annual report, touching as briefly as possible upon the method and work of the campaign year. She spoke of the devoted service of the members in the different assembly districts who worked quietly and without spectacular effects to impress the voters that women do not want the ballot.

Miss Elsie Trott, Chairman of the Bushwick Committee, gave a brief report of the dance on April 26th, at the Unity Republican Club. She said that there was great interest in the Twentieth Assembly District.

Mrs. Russell M. Herrick, Chairman of the Membership Committee, spoke of the encouraging result by her committee in getting new members, many having joined within the last few months.

Mrs. Herrick also referred to the loss that the association had sustained by the death of the first chairman of the Membership Committee, Mrs. Albert Crolius.

Miss Marguerite Beggs, Chairman of the Anti-Suffrage Junior League, spoke of the dance at the Hotel St. George the evening of Tuesday, May 9. Miss Marion McDonald is Chairman of the Ticket Committee.

PUBLIC office sent on approval with return privileges—is the latest thing in votes-for-women.

The first woman to be elected mayor of a California city has resigned on the eve of taking office because she would rather be a trustee. She does not like the mayoralty present, it seems, and wants to exchange it.

Woman can, through the votes of men, have every right to which she is entitled.

BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT,
Founder of Chautauqua.

TENNESSEE TRYING TO PRESERVE NON-PARTISANSHIP

At a meeting, April 19, at the residence of Mrs. John J. Vertrees, Nashville, the Tennessee chapter of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized. Mrs. Veertrees was elected temporary chairman, and Mrs. Morgan Brown temporary secretary. Much interest was manifested, and it was the unanimous opinion that woman's moral influence in public affairs is greater out of politics than in politics, and that doubling the electorate can confer no benefit upon the State.

The announcement that the question of woman suffrage would be brought up for adoption at the coming meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs was discussed, and all those present were of the opinion that should the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs amend its constitution in order to adopt woman's suffrage, it would endanger the good work of women's clubs and destroy their usefulness by injecting politics into club work.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Be it resolved, That inasmuch as article 3, section 1, of the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs distinctly states that no club shall be eligible to membership to the State Federation of clubs whose constitu-

tion is not free from sectarian and political bias, the adoption of suffrage is unconstitutional, and defeats the aim for which women's clubs are working, namely, a non-partisan work for the benefit and uplift of all women along educational, patriotic, philanthropic and civic lines. The work of women's clubs has been far-reaching in its influence for good in State and municipal affairs, and without the baneful influence of partisan politics, and without the vote; therefore,

"Be it further resolved, That we urge all women to think seriously upon this subject before taking such a step; and not allow the will of the minority to be imposed upon the majority; and,

"Be it further resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the president of every woman's club in the State, requesting that this petition be read to her club before instructing delegates to vote in the convention of women's clubs to be held in Chattanooga in May; also that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the president of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, and to Mrs. George Denny, president of the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs, stating that these resolutions were drawn up by women who are members of clubs which

are affiliated with not only the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs, but the National Federation of Women's Clubs."

It was decided to have active, honorary and associate members.

The following enrolled as members: Mrs. John J. Vertrees, Mrs. James C. Bradford, Mrs. B. B. Allen, Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman, Mrs. A. H. Robinson, Mrs. George Washington, Mrs. William L. Granberry, Miss Lizzie Bloomstein, Mrs. Morgan Brown, Miss Lizzie Elliott, Miss Mollie Claiborne, Mrs. J. P. Williams, Mrs. Lewis T. Baxter, Mrs. Claude C. Sullivan, Mrs. James Trimble, Mrs. Stanley Bell, Miss Marina Woods Bell, Mrs. C. D. Berry, Miss Katherine Berry, Mrs. E. S. Gardner, Mrs. B. D. Bell, Mrs. Edward Sinclair, Mrs. G. B. Kirkpatrick, Miss Sophie Bergeda, Mrs. Julius A. Trousdale, Mrs. Horace Cooper, Mrs. Albert Shipp, Mrs. Hallie V. Dunn, Mrs. T. N. Newman, Mrs. Lucius E. Burch, Mrs. W. G. Ewing, Miss Mary DeMerville, Mrs. John W. Moore, Miss Lula Ewing, Mrs. W. G. Hutchison, Mrs. Owsley Manier, Mrs. Philip Hoyte, Mrs. Norman Farrell, Mrs. Capt. W. N. Hughes, Sr., Mrs. Eugene Smith, Miss Josephine Farrell, Miss Lizinka Farrell, Mrs. W. R. Luke, Miss Mary Lou White.

THE COST OF DOUBLE SUFFRAGE

(An Iowa Bulletin)

At the last School Bond election, in the city of Des Moines, about 7 per cent. of the women entitled to vote voted. At the city election, March 27th, the question of issuing bonds to raise funds for the disposal of city garbage was one of the questions voted on by women. After the suffragists had made strong efforts to get out the woman vote, and had called up every woman who could be reached on the telephone, only 553 out of about 20,000 (2½ per cent.) voted.

Taking 500,000 women voters as the basis of the increase to the electorate if women are enfranchised in the State of Iowa, if 7 per cent. actually vote, it would mean a total of 35,000 in the State. Including city elections, there will be three primary elections and two general elections this year of 1916. The machinery must be provided for the *marimum* vote. On a basis of 500,000 women voters, it means for the five elections this year 2,500,000 additional official ballots, or additional voting machines. And what is the cost? Figure it out yourself; at least \$500,000.

The total cost of running the State of Iowa, shown by warrants actually paid, for the biennial period ending June 30, 1885, was \$3,511,000.00.

Ending June 30, 1895, \$3,624,000.00,

Ending June 30, 1905, 7,611,000.00,

Ending June 30, 1914, 11,976,000.00,

exclusive of the cost of capitol extension.

There was no increase in population; only an increase in expense. Who is responsible? No one individual or class of individuals; only the people themselves. Experimental legislation, commissions and new-fangled notions about government. Shall we try another experiment? "Woman Suffrage," and take on another half-million of expense, with the probability that not over 30,000 or 40,000 of Iowa women will ever come out to vote? What do you say?

In the year 1911, in California, before woman suffrage, the cost of government was \$18,000,000.00. The past year of 1915 it was over \$36,000,000.00.

Under caption "What Freaks do to California," the Los Angeles Times of September 26, 1914, prints in a dispatch from Sacramento: "California citizens will pay approximately \$1,637,500.00 for the privilege of exercising the right of suffrage this year. This is an increase of 133 1/3 per cent. since 1910. Above amount is exclusive of city, county and special elections." Women were given the ballot in California October 10, 1911.

You cannot double the electorate without increasing the cost of government.

You cannot increase the cost of government without increasing taxation.

You cannot increase taxation without raising the cost of living. COUNT THE COST, THEN VOTE NO on woman suffrage, June 5, 1916.

NOT WELCOME

(Chicago Herald)

LOS ANGELES, April 21.—No women's clubs of Los Angeles or this vicinity will receive officially the party of women who will arrive here tomorrow representing the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, according to club women here to-day.

Instead, the approach of the "suffrage special" was the cause, it was said, for the passage of resolutions to-day by the Friday Morning Club stating the club was "unalterably opposed to a woman's party."

This was covered by the resolution, which said: "We counsel against militancy or any other method which would result in antagonism between men and women. We hereby declare we have no sympathy with any plan to separate women from men in political work for any cause."

THREE NEW BOOKS ABOUT WOMAN'S WORK

THE WAYS OF WOMAN. By Ida M. Tarbell. The Macmillan Company. \$1.00.

IN this inspiring addition to her contributions to the woman problem, Miss Tarbell frankly avows her purpose of examining "the slow currents with which mankind has moved since the world began."

On the authority of the census, she questions many of the platform statements about woman's work in industry. She shows that both the number of women employed and the length of time they are engaged in gainful occupations have been greatly exaggerated. "There is no class of workers in the country so transient," says Miss Tarbell. "In scores of places employing girls the entire force will change in a year. The man who is able to hold 50 per cent. of his force more than a year achieves wonders. An inventory recently taken in one of the largest shops in New York City, and one of the most satisfactory working places for girls in the country, showed that only 23 per cent. of the girls had been there as long as seven years. The average girl in shops and factories probably does not work over three years."

"What does she do? Let the Thirteenth Census tell us. Eight times out of ten she marries."

"But she is not marrying, the platform cries to us. The platform is wrong. It quotes misleading figures."

After discussing these misleading figures—with which *PROTEST* readers are familiar—Miss Tarbell examines the platform cry that "women don't marry as they once did."

"The truth is they marry more freely than they did in 1900 or 1890," Miss Tarbell replies. "There has been a gain of nearly 2 per cent. in the number of marriages of women over fifteen in the last twenty years; and 2 per cent., when dealing with nearly twenty-one millions, is a considerable number."

Miss Tarbell is an optimist on the divorce problem. She declares "there is no other human relation that can show anything like so large a statistical proof of success" as marriage.

But probably the chapters of Miss Tarbell's book which will prove most inspiring to women are those devoted to "The Twenty-Cent Dinner" and "A Young Girl's Thoughts."

Miss Tarbell's defense of the old ideals, her graphic descriptions of what women have done in emergencies, and her sympathetic understanding of the problems that confront the lonely shop girl and the busy housewife are features that make "The Ways of Woman" a book of cheerfulness as well as a valuable summary of statistics which the author has translated from dull tables into hopeful truths.

FEMINISM. By Mr. and Mrs. John Martin. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$1.50.

THIS book discusses "the women's movement from two main points of view—that of the man and that of the woman."

"Whatever definition of Feminism one person offers, another person may deny. Even Socialism, with its fifty-seven varieties, is more authoritatively defined, because there is at least a Socialist party with a representative convention and formally adopted platform. Feminists are not of one party but of all parties. Their platform is not one document but many documents; their prophetesses are not elected, but self-appointed; of their leaders each has her own followers, but none is the shepherd of all."

With these difficulties to contend with, Mr. and Mrs. Martin have done an amazing amount of work to gather together the various tenets of Feminism and focus them beneath a microscope of common sense.

Besides giving hundreds of quotations and experiences, statistical data and other evidence of the "fallacies and follies" of Feminism, the book presents many wholesome truths in a breezy style that often reaches its greatest force while playfully indulging the most delicate humor.

After examining some of the pleas of "wages for wives," a typical table is given, with a sort of "union scale," as it were.

"To lying awake scheming how to send Alice to college," the wife debits her husband \$1. "To being patient under a cloud of difficulties," he owes her \$1.75. "Cheering up little Mary" is worth 15 cents, it seems, while "Loving husband and wayward son when they don't deserve loving" is put up at auction, apparently, as the authors ask "how much?"

Stranger than fiction, husbands have been found to have "moral uses." "In their normal relations the special service which woman performs toward man is to tame him. The service he performs for her is to steady her. If it were not for woman's taming powers, we should lapse into savagery; if it were not for man's steady power, society would approach Bedlam," Mrs. Martin asserts.

In the chapter on "votes for women" each of the different "species" of suffragist and anti-suffragist has an inning.

The book launches well selected facts and figures floating on a stream of good humor towards an ocean deep in its understanding of human nature.

THE EDEN SPHINX. By Annie Riley Hale. Published by the Author. \$1.25.

MRS. HALE'S book is a study of the nature and condition of woman, her rights and wrongs and her normal work, which not only asks many pointed questions, but indicates their correct answers.

In her chapter comparing the relative need of "New Woman or New Mother?" Mrs. Hale scores this rather commonly ignored but none the less salient point:

"I suppose most men would be household tyrants if we'd allow them, but why should we allow it? There might be more excuse for it if men were born *men*; if they sprang full-coated, full-trousered and bewhiskered into the arena of sex-contest we might not always be equipped to cope with them. But they don't come to us in this formidable shape. We hold them in our arms before they are twenty-four hours old; they are dependent on us for food and shelter, to bind up their wounds, satisfy their curiosity and administer wholesome discipline. Now the question for the militant suffragist is, why have women gone on generation after generation, and century after century, *bringing forth and bringing up a race of tyrants?*"

"If a boy is permitted to bully his mother before he is five—a most frequent occurrence—and to bully his younger sisters and brothers, as well as servants if there be such in the home, by the time he is twelve, what more natural than that he should expect later on to bully his wife and daughter. And if this carefully trained household tyrant encounters no feminine opposition anywhere, why should he have any respect for womankind?"

"What?" I think I hear a suffragette exclaim, "is this anti-suffrage writer endorsing militancy?" Certainly. Militancy of the right sort and in the proper time and place—within the home and practised on the male members of the woman's own family—put into operation a century ago, would have saved us the modern scandal of the bomb-hurling, window-smashing variety.

"Never was there a more dishonest, or more cowardly plea than the plaint against a 'man-made world'—while maintaining guilty silence concerning the *women-made men!*"

The author's purpose, "to awaken a vision of enlightened, consecrated motherhood * * * and set the whole world free!" is expressed in a practical study of everyday problems throughout the book. It would be difficult, indeed, to say which of the three latest books on the woman movement the student of modern woman could least do without.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A SAMPLE of the loose thinking and extreme statements suffragists employ to "catch the crowd" is the following by a leading Massachusetts suffragist now in Virginia:

"A government of the people, for the people, and by the people is only realized when every individual has equal share in administering such a government." According to this sophistry—and utter disregard of the principles of representation and delegation of political authority by the voters to legislators and by women to the men who represent them at the polls—we should need 100,000,000 presidents of the United States! What the Massachusetts suffragist says is that a new born infant—"every individual"—should have an "equal share in administering" our government with President Wilson. It is this sort of political puerility which is demanding votes-for-women from the house-tops and on the street-corners—when it ought to be at school studying the primer of representative government.

THE "MANDATE"

*The influence of suffrage leaders in giving Abraham Lincoln his "mandate" towards the freedom of the negro may be judged by the success the suffragists had in attempting to graft votes-for-women on to the emancipation act.

In March, 1863, an appeal was published in the New York *Tribune* by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to get the women of the North to assemble and adopt a set of resolutions consequent upon the emancipation proclamation, in which they attempted to harness the suffrage agitation to the success of the anti-slavery measure.

They resolved "That we heartily approve that part of the President's proclamation which decrees freedom to the slaves of rebel masters, and we earnestly urge him to devise measures for emancipating all slaves throughout the country." What they meant is expressed in resolution five, "That there can never be a true peace in this Republic until the civil and political rights of all citizens of African descent and all women are practically established."

Some of the women who came to the convention were astonished and protested at this attempt to fasten an "ism" of "woman's rights" on to the emancipation of the negro, but the suffrage leaders of that day were not less wise than their modern sisters in using every avenue of exploitation possible for their unpopular cause. Their "History of Woman Suffrage"—pages 66 to 71, Vol. 2—shows that they annoyed President Lincoln during the Civil War just as they annoyed President Wilson in the last few years.

The suffragists, though, claim credit for Lincoln's proclamation, just as they claim credit for all the progress of woman and man in the last sixty years—which has been attained, however, without woman suffrage and would have been attained *without* woman suffragists.

Iowa suffragists, like their sisters in all the other campaign States, wish to conciliate the liquor interests. It had been proposed to bring William Jennings Bryan to Sioux City on May 11th to speak to the suffragists. He was to be one of the big cards in their campaign, but now they declare that they will not have him unless he promises not to say a word in favor of prohibition. They say it would injure the suffrage cause if he incorporated in his address a plea for prohibition.

People are beginning to ask how the fund of \$150,000 raised by the suffragists to secure a Federal Suffrage Bill is being used. It is difficult to understand how such large sums of money can be employed legitimately for such a purpose. If it were known that an association of manufacturers, bankers or railroad managers had established such a fund to procure favorable consideration from Congress of some measure in which they were interested it would create a national scandal. One of the arguments in favor of equal suffrage has been that it would tend to purify politics, and among other things stop the use of money for the purpose of influencing legislative bodies, but this prophecy, like the other suffrage prophecies, has proved unfounded.

The following letter was received at anti-suffrage headquarters in Des Moines on April 19th:

"Please send me more of your literature. Surely suffrage has failed utterly in Colorado. Unfortunately I own about 50 beautiful lots in a most attractive addition to Denver, but the appetite for whatever is announced as 'Improvement' forced through, with women's votes, assessments for sewers, walks, etc., twenty years too soon, and I have decided to abandon the lots utterly (though I deemed them a few years ago worth \$100 to \$200 apiece) rather than pay the assessments levied against them. I have several residence properties almost as discouraging. When I asked my agent there (an old and well known resident) if the women generally voted, he said: 'You never can tell what the decent woman will do about voting; but all the red light ladies, and there are hundreds more of them than ever before, do vote in a body, and just as they are instructed from the city hall.' So there is the 'moral uplift' of 'Votes for Women' as it materializes in Colorado.

Rt. Rev. William H. Moreland, Bishop of Sacramento, Cal., says: "The far West leads the nation in divorce. Washington State is first, Montana second, California third, and Colorado fourth. These have a percentage twice as high as the average divorce rate in the rest of the country. The average for the nation is one divorce in twelve marriages; for the far West one to five. Forty per cent of the children in reformatories and orphanages of the Pacific Coast are offspring of divorced parents. The remedies to be urged are a uniform divorce law to be enacted by Congress, a ten days' notice of application for a marriage license, and, most important, the education of public opinion." All of the four states mentioned have woman suffrage.

Mrs. Catt is so convinced of the value of non-partisanship for woman that she declares that if her national organization falls into line with the Congressional Union's policy of fighting the political party in power she will resign. Mrs. Catt, Dr. Shaw and others of the most prominent of the suffragists in the country realize perfectly the value of non-partisanship to their own cause. It is a pity that they are not broad minded enough to see, as the anti-suffragists do, the value of political non-partisanship to woman in all lines of public work.—*Mass. Notes.*

(*The Survey*, April 29, 1916)

TO THE EDITOR: You are so outspoken an enthusiast for the cause of woman suffrage, that I think you will not deny that had women not the vote in Chicago, you would have coupled your editorial on Chicago Politics and a Tragic Death with a statement that it is to prevent such shameful misuse of political power that women desire the vote! Why not say frankly that in this instance all the boasted influence for civic betterment contained in votes for women has failed, and that Mayor Thompson, put into office with such acclaim by women voters, has not "made good"?

I can just imagine the outcry which would have been made by suffragists had poor Dr. Sachs been a New Yorker. They would have demanded the vote to put a stop to the outrageous entrance of politics into philanthropy. They would have assured the world that women and women only can prevent men from succumbing to the temptation of playing politics in the management of public institutions. Do let us once in a while have a frank, honest statement that the political rule of women is no better than that of men and that if women are to have the vote, it must be based upon some better argument than women's spiritual higher-mindedness. New York. ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

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